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NSC BRIEFING 5 August 1954

## PROBABLE POST-GENEVA COMMUNIST POLICY

- I. BACKGROUND The Outcome at Geneva:
  - A. At first glance, Communists at Geneva settled for less

    than they could get, in view Viet Minh military successes.
    - By delay at conference, they might have seized all Indochina.
    - 2. By not meeting Mendes-France's dramatic bid for peace, they might have caused critical internal crisis in France.
  - B. Several very good reasons for Communist settlement.
    - 1. Desirable to end "hot" war in order continue undermining Western alliance.
    - 2. Continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of "hot" war greatly increased risk of acceptance of the continuation of the con
  - 3. Overwhelming Communist victory in Indochina might have frightened non-Communist Asians into closer

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collaboration with West and denied to Communists

their assistance in blocking Western plans for SEATO.

- II. POST-GENEVA EXPECTATIONS Short-Term Probabilities:
  - A. Communists unlikely to make major new military moves in near future.
  - B. In Europe, Moscow will capitalize on Geneva atmosphere by pressing for further negotiations. Already state lesson of Geneva is success of negotiations for peace with U.S. on sidelines.7
- III. Soviet negotiations will aim at: forestalling EDC and German rearmament; blocking creation of US-backed Middle East defense grouping or Southeast Asian alliance; major aim splitting chief Western allies and wrecking NATO.
  - A. USSR moving swiftly. 24 July note, asking all-European conference on " prospective settlement

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in Germany and Austria as bait, also plugged for atomic ban. On 4 August follow-up note asked pre-liminary 4-Power meeting in August or September (press).

- B. At end Geneva conference, leading Pravda correspondent predicted; "We will all grow old covering conferences."
- IV. Another weapon in Communist campaign to splinter Western alliance will be East-West trade.
  - A. Although such trade will fall short of Soviet promises,

    Western countries apparently welcome Kremlin's policy

    of "trade for trade's sake" as proof Soviet reasonable
    ness.
  - B. Soviet's present attempt to use its trade position to secure Finnish political commitments is a tactic they will apply elsewhere.
- V. In Far East, immediate Communist aims: increase Asian neutralist sentiment; block Western-sponsored collective Approved For Release 2003/08/08: CIA-RDP80R01443R000300010009-0 defense, particularly establishment additional US bases.

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- A. At Geneva, Chinese Communist journalist said: "We have won first campaign for neutralization all Southeast Asia." Communist propaganda stepping up "Asia for Asians" theme.
- B. Peiping may proposed own Asian security pact; threaten prospective Asian members of SEATO with "consequences" of joining.
- VI. Nonetheless, Communists will increase pressures in Far

  East. Three areas for immediate exploitation are Indochina, Thailand and Formosa.
  - A. In Indochina, Communists will not violate armistice
    line, but will use political, psychological and paramilitary means to gain domination of whole area.
    - 1. Ho (22 July) stated people of north, central, south Vietnam "will be liberated:" French believe

south Vietnam flooded with Viet Minh political Approved For Release 2003/08/08: CIA-RDP80R01443R000300010009-0

agents, preparing way for "early" elections.

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- B. In Thailand, stepped-up psychological pressure, perhaps subversion.
  - 1. Ex-premier Pridi, whose whereabouts obscure since 1947, attended Peiping banquet China Peace Committee his honor 22 July.
  - 2. Pridi warned Thai people they "duty-bound" overthrow American-controlled "reactionary puppet"
    government, restore nation's good name.
  - 3. Thai leaders have \_\_\_\_\_\_ fear of Pridi:

    Thai Government spokesman termed his attack

    "first step" in campaign Communist conquest

    Thailand.
- C. In particular, Peiping will emphasize issue of Formosa; promote friction between US and others of Free World over support of Nationalists.
- 1. Senior Communist General Chu Te made bellicose

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  declaration (1 Aug) Taiwan will be liberated and

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"other countries" not allowed to interfere.

Premier Chou, back from Geneva, echoes view.

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- 2. Peiping smarting from TUAPSE, other ship seizures by Nationalists, destruction of planes at Hainan.
- 3. May attack Nationalist-held islands off China coast with diversionary air attacks on Formosa.
- 4. Major Nationalist islands (north to south) are

  Tachen group (15,000 troops), Nanchi (4,500),

  Matsu group (9,000) and Chinmen (47,000).
- 5. In East China, Communists have 350,000 troops,

  Have ten Air

  Division, (total at least 300 fighters, 100

  bombers). Navy in area totals 35 landing-ships,

  40 torpedo boats, dozen small warships.
- 6. Communists can take any of islands (but Chinmen would be costly).
- VII. Elsewhere in Far East, immediate prospects for Communist action are less dramatic.

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INSERT SUGGESTED FOR NSC BRIEFING

-Probable Post-Geneva Communist Policy

(To follow Item IIIA - which covers 24 July note)

- I. Soviet note of 4 August proposes four power foreign ministers' conference in August or September to prepare for future all-European security conference and to discuss Germany.
  - A. Kremlin is obviously disappointed by the cold Western reaction to its previous call for a European conference, and is very concerned about pending EDC debate in France.
  - B. The note proposes no immediate talks on a German peace treaty and unification, where the Soviet Union has very little maneuverability.
  - C. Instead it proposes talks on unspecified German questions
    - It will probably renew the plans for a variety of all-German committees, suggested at the Berlin conference.
    - The current visit of East German deputy premier
       Ulbricht may lead to more extensive proposals.

